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ABSTRACT

This research paper describes various aspects of the 12-day July Festival and period of preparation for it in one valley on the island of 'Ua Pou, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. This case study is of a well-delineated cultural event which exemplifies many themes presented in "Patterns of Social Interaction and Concepts of Interpersonal-Relating at Different Life-Stages in the Marquesas Islands." This July Festival is considered to be "of/for/by the young people" and is seen as a period in which the culturally valued aesthetic qualities of youth are put on display. These qualities include beauty, grace, sexual display, and skills in dancing and singing. This is a period of extreme social complexity and visibility during which social definition of work and life stage characteristics are explored and judged as appropriate or inappropriate. It is a time of both social experimentation and social stabilization. (EH)

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The July Festival in the Marquesan Islands: Social Mechanisms Delimiting Youth and Adulthood

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Running head: THE JULY FESTIVAL IN THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

Paper presented at the Kamehameha Early Education Program, Kamehameha Schools/Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, Honolulu, HI.
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The July Festival in the Marquesas Islands: Social Mechanisms Delimiting Youth and Adulthood

In this paper I describe various aspects of the twelve-day July Festival (and period of preparation before this) in one valley on the island of 'Ua Pou, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. I am interested in this festival as a case-study or well-delineated cultural event which exemplifies many of the themes presented in an earlier report, "Patterns of Social Interaction and Concepts of Interpersonal-Relating at Different Life-Stages in the Marquesas Islands."

Specifically, the July Festival (Rare) is considered to be "na te po'i hou" or "of/for/by the young people". It is a period in which the culturally valued aesthetic qualities of youth (beauty, grace, sexual display, skills in dancing and singing) are put on display. It is also a time in which taure'are'a activities (wandering, socializing, drinking, and loss of certain social inhibitions) are more-or-less sanctioned for people of other age groups. During this festival, however, there is also a great deal of social commentary on the over use, exaggeration and wastefulness of some of these activities. Also, during the Rare, taure'are'a qualities and activities are set against a background of adult work, responsibility and economic know-how, represented by the complex buying-and-selling, organizing-and-producing activities which make up the other half of the festival. State-

ments as to what it means to be an "errant youth" and what it means to be an adult, and the advantages and disadvantages of each, are acted out on the kind of social stage that the festival provides.

The Rare is interesting as a period of extreme social complexity and visibility during which a great deal of social-definition work - concerning life-stage characteristics, and the appropriateness or inappropriateness of these to specific individuals - get accomplished. In this sense, it is a period of both social-experimentation and social-stabilization.

July Festival: Contrasts between themes of youth and of adulthood:

The July Festival (Rare) is generally described by Marquesans to be "na te po'i hou", that is: "of/for/by the young people". In support of this statement, people talk about the taure'are'a dance group, night time social dancing, singing, wandering, and love affairs that are characteristic of the period. They also talk about the aesthetic values represented by taure'are'a youth: beauty, grace, skills in dancing and singing, and pleasant sexual display. Taure'are'a provide idea forms of these aspects. In anticipation of the event, people also discuss the child-oriented aspects of the festival: the excess of sweets bought and sold from the Festival booths; the children's week long binge of eating cookies, cake, soda, watermelon and coconut cakes; the

children's tendency to eat up any profit their parents are making at the Festival by buying sweets; and the parents' difficulties refusing or limiting these demands.

People also consider the Rare as a period of social acceptance for dormant taure'are'a feelings and activities in adults, a time in which drunkenness and losses of inhibitions are tolerated as "the fault of the Rare" ("na te Rare te pi'o").

During the festival, however, the taure'are'a and childhood themes are set against a relatively unstated background of adult work, responsibility, solidness, economic know-how, and carefulness in extra-household relationships. This contrasting half of the Rare is the festival as an economic event, during which people live in small, thatched booths on a central field, from which they sell each other food, drinks, sweets, and offer carnival games. It is during this festival, (Marquesans hope, year after year), that a money-profit will be made. As a result, economic planning, hard work and shrewdness are emphasized. During this time, adult characteristics stand out most sharply in that they are contrasted with youthful irresponsibility, laziness, drunkenness, lack of planning and carelessness with money. The youthful display elements of the festival which are highlighted and valued also serve in bringing out salient aspects of the background: the solid adult characteristics.

The Rare is also important as a period of forced socialness, intensified contact, complexity and visibility during which social rules, definitions of groups, relationships and categories are necessitated and made possible. I am suggesting that contrasts between sociability and valley-connectedness vs. household and individual integrity and privateness are represented and worked through at several levels. Intensified socialness is built into the festival due to ecological features. Most of the valley live in very cramped quarters in full visibility to each other for this week to 14 day period. Themes of publicness and privateness are dealt with under these conditions.

It is interesting, though, that there are other modes for dealing with these themes, and that the Rare stresses the "everyone in the same boat" mode. The other major festival of the year, New Year's Day, deals with similar themes, but in different ways. During this festival, everyone in the valley visits the house of everyone else, drinking at least one glass of wine before moving onto the next house. Neutralized hospitality ties with everyone in the valley are made in this way. During Rare, contrasts between taure'are'a sociality and adult carefulness in establishing social ties seem to represent these larger themes of public vs. private.

In terms of specific social processes, the Rare is a period of intensified social contact, visibility and talk during which a

great deal of social definition of categories and application of categories to individuals takes place. Social definitions are clarified through gossip about peripheral members to various life-stages. The fit of life-stage characteristics to particular individuals is gossiped about. Also, with the clarification of these defining features, transition pressure increases, i.e., pressure is put on individuals to move into more stage-appropriate behaviors and attitudes. Questions asked in this section concerning these social processes are:

1) How are life-stages socially defined during the Rare? What are the social statements as to what it means to be a taure'are'a, child, or adult? How are these statements made?
2) What forms of social pressure arise to deal with behavior which is stage-inappropriate?
3) What kind of transition pressure seems to be experienced by children moving into the taure'are'a period, by taure'are'a moving into adulthood, and by adults trying to forget their taure'are'a thoughts and ways? How are these transitions indicated to others during the festival?

In general, I am interested not only in the themes discussed in the first parts of this paper, but also in the social processes which enable the group to state these themes, in how salient features are defined and transitions are regulated.

In terms of the dual cultural themes presented during this period, I believe that:

1) taure'are'a qualities and activities are on display as "ideal types" or representations of potential forms of human action and interaction. The aesthetic aspects of taure'are'a life are stressed: beauty, grace, physical skills in dancing, singing, and sexual display. Their sociality is also emphasized: the intimacy of friendship, breakdown of reciprocity rules for sharing and borrowing, and the extended nature of ties. Youth are under some pressure to enact these ideals during the Rare period.

2) On the other hand, the excesses, instability and impracticality of youthful behaviors and attitudes are stressed. Taure'are'a activity in adults is tolerated, but excesses in drinking, wandering or making sexual advances become topics of disapproving gossip. The intensity and marathon feeling to this festival is such that by the end of the twelve day period, people are anxious to return to the quietness of adult life.

Background:

The July Festival was introduced into French Polynesia by the territorial government for the stated purpose of perpetuating

Polynesian, cultural forms such as traditional group dancing and singing. The government subsidizes the festival by providing money for prizes for competitions in dancing, singing, canoe racing, booth decorating, and tugs of war. The festival lasts from seven to 14 days, depending on the supply of goods, and occurs around French Independence Day, July 14.

In the Marquesas, the Rare has become as important an economic event as a cultural event. Daytime activities include: 1) tending concession booths, from which people sell food, liquor and sweets; 2) preparing goods to sell; and, 3) wandering from booth to booth, eating, drinking, talking and watching others. Night time activities include dance competitions, singing among youth, and dancing to contemporary music. American rock, Tahitian sentimental, and French romantic music blares continually from the tape-player, which is run from an equally noisy electrical generator.

Daily Activities:

In the early mornings, adults emerge from the back sections of their booths, generally having had only a couple of hours sleep. The music is still blaring, but even the most die hard of the youth have left to sleep. Morning work may consist of slaughtering a pig for the food booths, salting some of the meat, selling some to neighborhood booth owners, etc. The popoi, breadfruit and sweet potatoes are prepared. When children wake

up, they are sent upland to the houses to bring down more goods for the concession stands. Displays are re-arranged and morning coffee is prepared to be sold.

Once preparation work is done, people either tend booths or wander around themselves. Children group together on rocks in the middle area, talk, play with strings, or play on the bridge. Children's play is in family groups, which provides some of the first opportunities for the toddler to play away from mother, who watches from their booth. Women spend the afternoons watching and socializing in this way. Many men begin drinking heavily by late afternoon. Taure'are'a boys emerge from sleeping and the tempo begins to pick up. Singing groups form in the cafe booths. Families work out where each of the members will eat, and with what money, and children go off to buy their coffee and bread.

After dusk, people take showers and change clothes. On the nights of dance-competitions, the dance groups from the three valleys put on their costumes and perform on the bridge. A panel of judges determines the prizes. After the performance, taure'are'a boys change into good shirts, shoes and long pants; girls wear long skirts or dresses. These are in contrast to children's dress of shorts with no shirts or shoes. The music, which has been playing constantly, is turned up and the people begin to drink seriously. Taure'are'a begin dancing in the

large, central area by the music and drinking booths (see Figure 4).

Children, young taure'are'a who do not want to dance, and young women with babies, sit on the side-lines and watch. Older people watch from their booths. Girls who dance, cluster by one booth, waiting to be asked. Boys become freer in asking, as the night continues, but when not dancing, cluster by another booth. Sometimes jealousy quarrels occur between young married couples, concerning dancing. Other than this, the drinking and dancing is supposed to go on like this all night (though it rarely does). Marquesans claim that fights usually break out during night time dancing, but none occurred this year.

In summary, daytime activity involves adult work: keeping the businesses running. Taure'are'a boys keep a low profile, avoiding work and catching up on sleep. Night time is for youth, with adults watching from their booths.

Days and nights continue like this for the duration of the festival. The result is a kind of marathon of sleepless work, intense social contact, continuous drinking, singing and dancing and the constant blare of music. For Taure'are'a it means constantly being on display. By the end of the period, most people are ready for a return to quiet, everyday life. One purpose of the festival is claimed to be this process of getting loud intense, sociality "out of the system". It is interesting to

look at the features which distinguish the Rare from everyday life; to consider why these particular features have been changed, as opposed to others. Perhaps the most blatant of changes during the festival involves the ecological set up of day to day life.

Ecological Features: The Festival Grounds (see Figure 4)

A striking feature of the July Festival is that people move to a small, public field by the sea, where they live in small, thatched booths. They leave their houses for the old people to watch, or for relatives or friends visiting from the other two valleys. Fourteen of the twenty six households build concession booths, close together on the half-acre field in front of the school. These booths were built along the four sides of a square, facing in, leaving a large open area in the middle. In this way, people tending booths could watch what was happening at all other booths and in the open area. This set-up parallels the way in which guests at a party are seated in a very large, open square. In this configuration, each can see all others, but has contact with his neighbor only. During the Rare, a common activity is watching and commenting on others, particularly the youth.

The valley is reconstructed in this theater in the round way, on a very small scale. Private areas shrink drastically, and consist of the small sleeping spaces in the back of the booths.

These spaces measure about 6′ by 8′ and house most of that household (though some of the children may sleep at the house under the care of a grandparent). The Rare living conditions intensify social contact between people from different areas of the valley, from different neighborhood groups, from different households, and, due to the cramped quarters, between members of the same household. People also live in close contact with visitors from the other two valleys. who live in the nearby school house or government building.

The arrangement of booths reflects, to some extent, neighbor and kin solidarity observed in normal day to day life. Neighborhood I, for example, (households 3, 4, 5, and 5a), build their booths under the same roof, as did the neighbors from Area III. Booths in the upper left of the field were built among kin.

In general, these ecological features effect: 1) increased social contact, due to the minimum living space and fewer possibilities for escaping into privacy; 2) increased need for new and modified social rules to deal with the complexity of the day to day contacts; 3) increased social visibility; and, 4) increased talk. The people became both actors and commenting audience for the twelve day and night period. Family arguments and conflicts between neighbors often came to light.

One night, for example, conflict between members of a three generational family, broke out. The settled couple (parents of

several children) fought with the wife's parents (owners of the house where they lived). A cake and bottle of beer were thrown in the fight, which was dramatically back-lit by their kerosene lantern. The settled couple was kicked out of the household. The rest of the valley watched this long-brewing fight, from the other side of the festival square. There was a sense of safety in visibility, which may have enabled the playing out of tensions which had remained just under the surface until then.

Exaggerated Social Rules:

Another feature distinguished this period from everyday life is the intensification of age-roles. The roles of adults as economic providers is accentuated in several ways:

a) children become insatiable during the festival, constantly asking for money for sweets. Parents freely pass out their money, both to children and adolescents who want to drink. Normally, neither money, nor access to sweets or alcohol are available.

b) Adults work much more intensively during this period, since the preparation and selling of goods requires far more work than everyday maintenance.

c) The parents provide cash for the children to eat, concretizing their roles as providers. This is in contrast to "just eating" which is take for granted in daily life.

The role of taure'are'a youth as objects of beauty, grace and sexual display is highlighted and exaggerated during this period. Dance performances are taken seriously; young people are supposed to dance correctly and well. This is in contrast to children's groups, which are supposed to be funny and cute, and "old people's" dancing, which is taken to be a spoof of taure'are'a forms. Some pressure is put on youth to dress well, especially at night. Comments are also made to encourage them to wander, socialize, drink heavily, and have sexual encounters. If they do not manage to stay up all night, dancing, they are not true taure'are'a. On the other hand, they work for their families far less during this period, and are upbraided for this. Adults give mixed messages at this time.

The role of children as insatiable dependents is exaggerated and concretized during the Rare. Parents both complain about and produce this situation. Of the fifteen booths eight specialized in pastries or sweets, which adults rarely eat, and which are uncommon in daily meals. One reason given for this excess is that these foods are easier to prepare and sell. On the other hand, people complain of a lack of "real" food during this period, and the presentation of the festival as a time for children to beg money from their parents seems to be valued.

Children are also presented as cute mimics of adult or adolescent activity. In dancing, they perform all the sexual

display actions without being held responsible for doing these exactly right (as are the adolescents).

Children's roles as adult irritators are also stressed. For example, during the tedious booth building phase, whistles and drums became the newest fads among the children, and the hard-working adults could neither escape nor stop this noise. Children were also observed pulling out the decorative flowers as soon as their parents put them onto the booths.

Life-stages and Differential Participation in Rare Activities:

Assigning individuals to specific age-categories is formally accomplished via the formation of dance groups. One to three groups are formed in each valley: 1) a taure'are'a group, which is primary and is considered to be the most skilled and seriously aesthetic group; 2) a children's group, which is expected to mimic adolescent dances; and, 3) a settled adults' group, which mocks the seriousness of taure'are'a display.

The compositions of these groups (see Table 2) reflect social rules or norms for defining the ages and life-styles of children, adolescents, and adults, and for indicating defining characteristics of these stages.

The taure'are'a group consists of unmarried, unsettled males who have left school. Thirteen year old boys who have left school are immediately incorporated into this group, and dance participation serves as a form of initiation rite. The new boys

typically dance in the least visible, back rows of the group, and learn by following the people in front of them. The "tamure" dance, in which a boy and girl dance in the center of a circle of dancers, moving in blatantly sexual ways, is particularly difficult for shy adolescents. Initiation is particularly focussed on this dance. Young adolescents balk in dancing this, but are hooted and jeered at, at practices until they comply. Attempts to reduce embarrassment by performing these dances in a slapstick way are made by some young taure'are'a, but this is discouraged by the group. Embarrassment may stem from the fact that the boys are expected to know how to move in these sexual ways, from real life experience, and the dance reflects proficiency.

An upper cut-off age is apparent in this group, but follows "relational" patterns rather than absolute age differences. Specifically, boys who have been in the group for a couple years and who now have younger siblings in the group tend to leave and join the transitional musicians' groups. Some older adolescent boys still dance, whereas others make up the music group. Criteria for being part of the taure'are'a male group, in this sense, involve leaving school, yet not being so old as to have several, younger siblings in the dance group. Fourteen or fifteen year old boys who have not left school are not included in this dance group, and may, in fact, dance in the children's group. Leaving

school seems to be an important criterion for male entrance into the taure'are'a period.

Girls who have not yet left school, on the other hand, are included in this group, and even two girls from the primary school are considered taure'are'a in this sense. The upper age limit for girls excludes those who are living regularly with a boy. Other exclusions are made on the basis of physical appearance. For example, one girl was not included because she was not thin enough, while another had a slight food deformity and was not included. These exclusions are not verbalized as such, but when asked why x is not in the group, the responses are of this nature.

The children's group is made up almost entirely of main-valley, boarding school children home for vacation. There are also three secondary school children who dance in this group, in the front rows.

The settled adults group (when it is formed) consists of both young couples with children no quite adolescent, and older couples, whose children are taure'are'a.

Behavioral expectations related to these groups are:

1) that the taure'are'a group perform seriously, with grace and group coordination. Emphasis is on the realness of this display, and clowning is discouraged. Adults are

often dissatisfied with their performance, expressed in terms of lack of grace or coordination.

2) The children, on the other hand, are to have fun in dancing, wildly mimicking adolescent and adult activities. The children perform sexual dances with little inhibition. These behaviors are not seriously expected of them in real life and they can be free in their renditions - unlike the self-conscious taure'are'a youth who are displaying, in essence, their competence in sexual moving. The freeness and exaggeration characteristics of children's dancing makes it the favorite for the audience.
3) Settled adults are expected to mock the seriousness of grace and sexual display by the adolescents, as worn-down, experienced adults. In general, aesthetic seriousness is placed on taure'are'a display, whereas children and adults are encouraged to mimic or mock.

The musicians' group is somewhat transitional, made up in part of older adolescents who live in peer households, and in part of transitional adults whose own children are just approaching adolescence and who are considered to continue to harbor taure'are'a thoughts.

A fourth life-stage, that of the quite settled, and very settled adults (whose oldest children are adolescent or older)

provides most of the booth-owners of the festival. These are also the only owners who manage to make a profit, since the younger adults immediately spend their money on alcohol. In general, older people have the capital to buy the needed goods, and the patience to the work, as well as being careful spenders.

Participants in night-time dancing is indicative of one's life-stage. Dancing is considered to be for taure'are'a. Some young couples dance, but this is discouraged with warnings that it results in jealousy and marital quarrels (which it does). Young mothers and pregnant women become angry when encouraged to dance, saying it is not right for the unborn or young children.

On the other hand, they become angry and jealous if their husbands ask others to dance. Some members, who returned from Tahiti from the festival without their husbands, "lived it up", "while free from their husbands". In general, males tend to dance later in life than women.

The initiation point for young dancers is unclear, and many young taure'are'a boys are very ambivalent about dancing. Some nights they arrive shirtless, in what appears to be an attempt to mark the fact that they do not wish to dance and are just there to watch. A boy may also take his shirt off in the course of an evening. The nights were chilly, and younger boys, clearly not old enough to dance, all wore shirts. In this sense, the presence of a shirt appeared to serve mainly as a marker. Girls

seem to make this transition into taure'are'a dancing much more easily, and even very young girls will dress very carefully and sit on the sidelines waiting for the first dance.

Contrast between taure'are'a and adult themes:

In contrast to the irresponsibility, sociality and interpersonal intimacy of youth, are adult qualities of responsibility, work and careful regulation of ties with others. This contrast is most clear in terms of cooperative and competitive economic themes.

As a period of social and economic complexity, the Rare intensifies everyday patterns of relating. Help and cooperation, for instance, are very useful at this time, but occur only between kin or close-neighbors. For example, households within the same neighborhood are much more likely to build their booths under the same roof (see Figure 4), and people not building booths help their relatives weave palm-mats for their booths. Aside from these cooperation ties based on familiarity, however, the Rare is a time of economic and social carefulness and mistrust.

One feature of this is the extremely careful establishment of economic guidelines, accomplished in several pre-Rare meetings in which licenses are sold for each kind of good to be sold, and prices are set in precise ways for every item (prices for

cookies; pastries; coffee without milk or sugar; coffee with milk; two finger-measures of alcohol, etc.). Licenses and price lists are posted and infractions are gossiped about and dealt with by a member of the economics' committee. The Rare is considered to be a time to make money and people seem to feel comfortable only when every competitive aspect of buying and selling is standardized. In spite of the myriad of rules and limitations, competition still finds its way to the surface.

Summary: Expected behaviors and attitudes for life stages as defined through social gossip:

Social commentary is used extensively during Rare for calling attention to peripheral or out of bounds behavior, and in this indirect way, for describing the acceptable, in bounds behaviors. In this way, we can infer life-stage characteristics by looking at what they are not supposed to be. (See Table 3).

Social gossip about young adolescents (stage 4), for example, deals primarily with appearance and physical skills; or with whether these youth are "ashamed" ("hakaika") or not during dancing. Emphasis is on the need to loose embarrassment, and to perform well.

Gossip about somewhat older taure'are'a (stages 5 and 6) defines the physical appearance boundaries for the groups, through talk about the slightest abnormalities in individuals'

appearances. Social talk also expresses the adults' pervasive dissatisfaction that these youth are not representing the ideals of beauty and grace to an adequate degree.

Gossip about older taure'are'a boys (those living in their own households) begins to stress the potential waste of taure'are'a ways. People talk about drunken binges, broken engagements, and illicit sex, in reference to these youths.

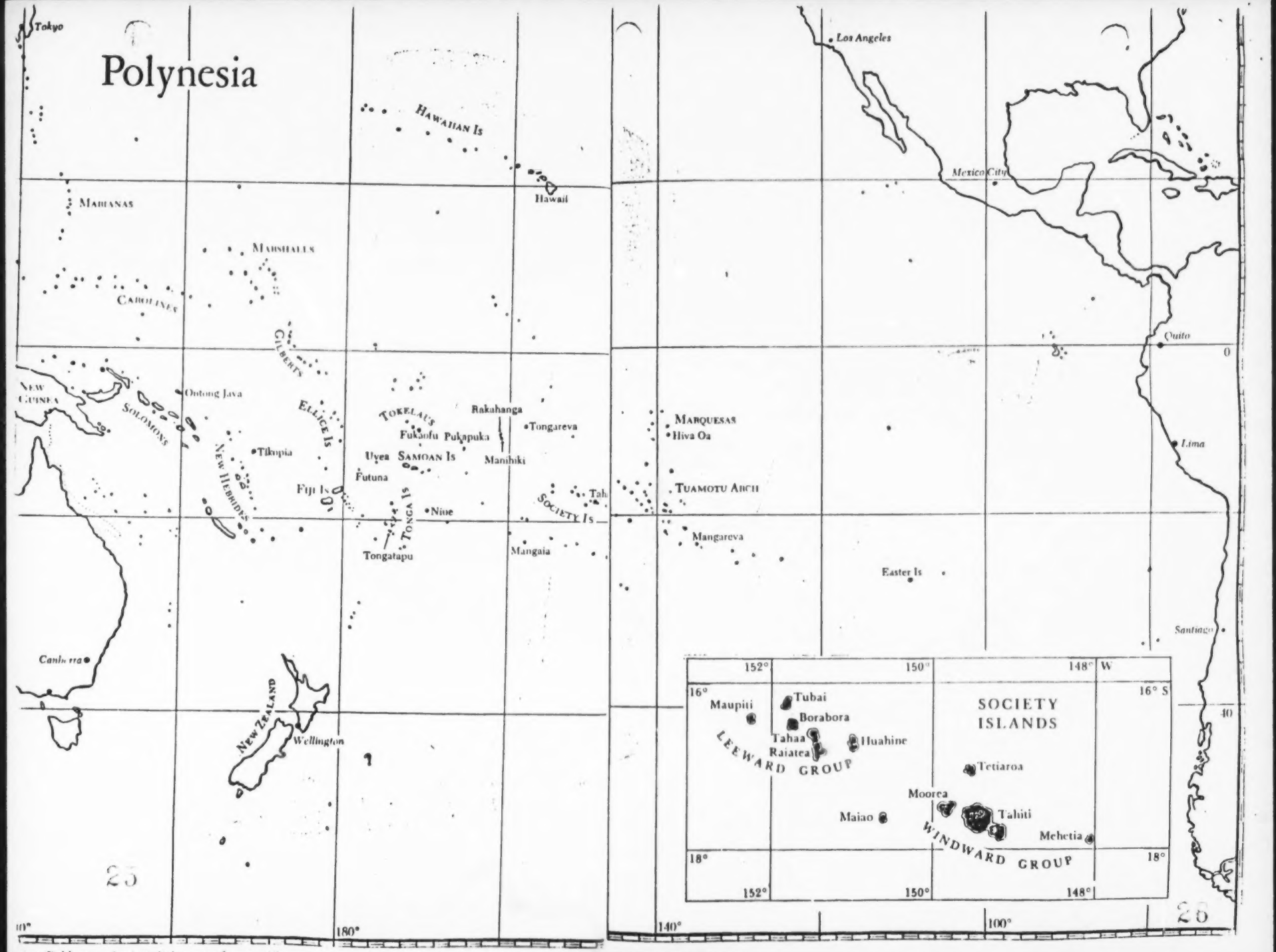
Talk about newly-settled couples revolve around marital jealousy and arguments, particularly in relation to the tendency of one partner to wander and dance, while the other sits on the sidelines.

Perhaps the most interesting and extreme gossip during the Rare concerns settled couples, whose oldest children are just approaching adolescence. This group seems to be the most conflicted and "at risk" group, with the sense that they are having their last fling before their children take over the taure'are'a ways. Much of the gossip about these people concerns the overextendedness of their taure'are'a traits: talk about men drinking up the family's profits; about laziness and leaving the work to the wife; about wife-beating; about continuous drunkenness; about lack of care for children; about illicit sex; and about marital fights over extended dependence on the parents of one spouse.

When one's children become taure'are'a, it seems that adolescent thinking is supposed to go away for good. Gossip about

older booth owners centers on the careful regulation of economic ties - talk about cases of cheating, selling articles not listed on one's license, or decreasing prices from the posted list.

In general, it seems that many of the social messages of the Rare have to do with highlighting youthful aesthetics and sociality, but presenting these in such an overload and marathon way that at the end of the festival period adults fall back into a relieved acceptance of the more sedate, less intense, less socially involved adult forms of relating to others.



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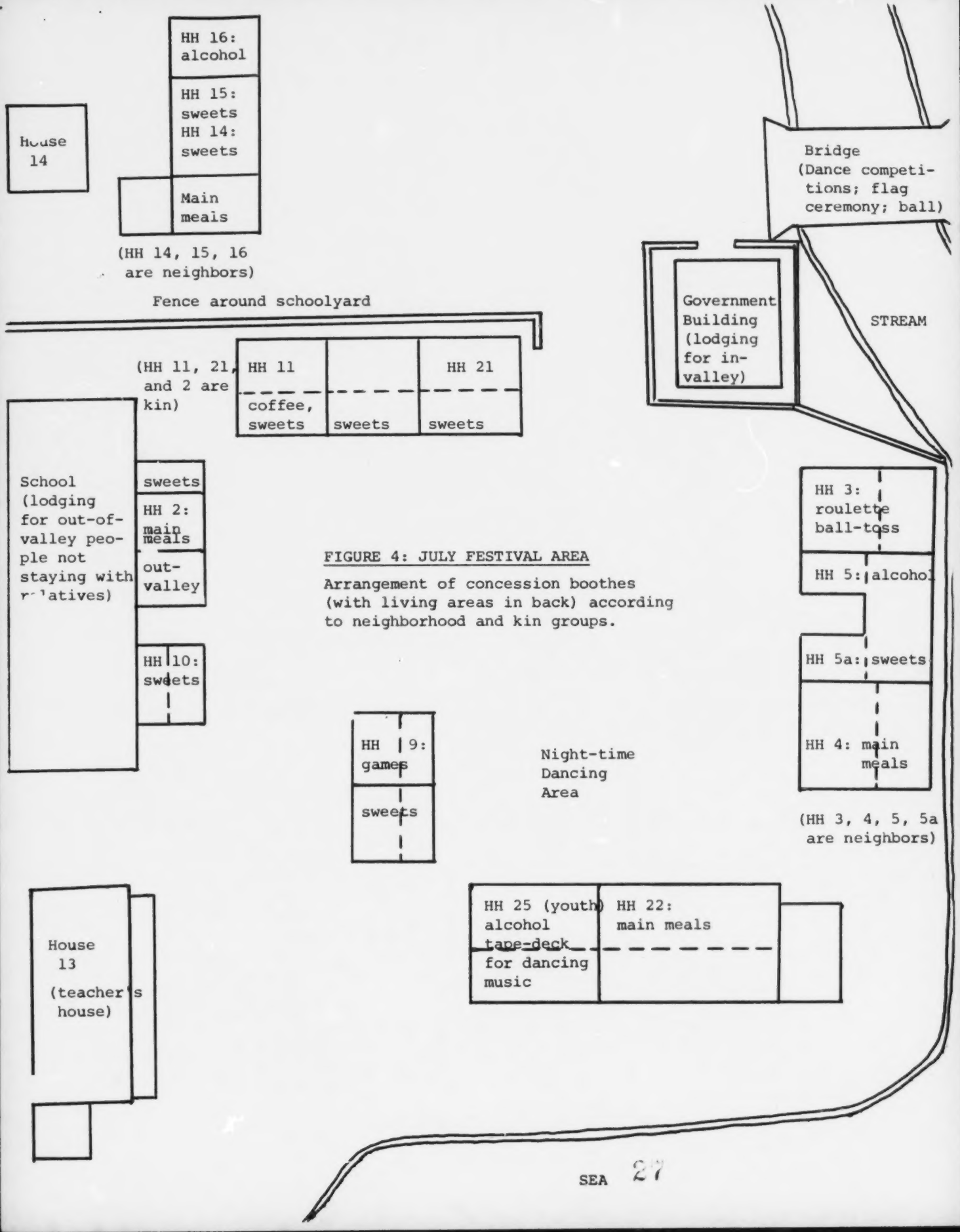

FIGURE 4: JULY FESTIVAL AREA

Arrangement of concession boothes (with living areas in back) according to neighborhood and kin groups.

Table 1: Valley Population by Life-Stage Categories[1].

female	male	total	Life-Style Category	Life-Stages
9	4	13	1. Infants and toddlers: 0 to 3 years	CHILDREN ("TOIKI")
7	17	24	2. Preschool children: 2 to 5 years old	
27	32	59	3. In-valley school children: 5 to 12 years old	
15	6	21	4. Away to school in large valley, primary school: 10 to 14 years old	
8	2	10	5. Away to secondary school: 13 to 18 years old	
3	8	11	6. Out of school, live at home: 14 to 22 years	YOUNG PEOPLE ("PO'I HOU";"TAURE'ARE'A")
1	7	8	7. Live in adolescent households: 16 to 26 yrs.	
1	6	7	8. Away from the valley for work or military service	
3	2	5	9. Young couples: oldest child less than 6.	ADULTS ("ENANA MOTUA")
9	10	19	10. Settled couples: oldest child almost adol.	
5	7	12	11. Quite settled couples: oldest child is adolescent	
4	4	8	12. Very settled couples: oldest children settled	
5	3	8	13. Old people: all children grown and settled.	OLD PEOPLE ("KOKOUA")

1. Population figures from 1976 census conducted by John Kirkpatrick.

Table 2: Participation in July Festival Activities by Life-Stage

Life-Stages	July Festival Activities:								
	Children's Dance Group		Adolescent Dance Group		Musicians & Singers		Night-time Dancing		Concession Booth Owners
	fem.	male	fem.	male	fem.	male	fem.	male	
1.Infants/toddlers									
2.Preschool									
3.In-valley school	2								
4.Away school	8	5	2				2		
5.Away secondary	1	2	5				8	1	
6.Live at home			3	8			3	5	
7.Adolescent households				3		4		7	1
8.Away									
9.Young couples					1	1	1	2	
10.Settled					2	3	2	5	5
11.Quite settled					1		1	1	5
12.Very settled									3
13.Old people									

(Numbers represent individuals observed to participate in the activity)

TABLE 2:
TOPICS OF SOCIAL GOSSIP DURING FESTIVAL PERIOD

LIFE-STAGE	AGE CATEGORY	EXAMPLES OF GOSSIP ABOUT PEOPLE IN THESE STAGES
TRANSITION TO ADOLESCENCE	4 5 6	a is new to dance group; doesn't know how to dance yet; b is new to dance group; knows how c is too shy/ashamed (hakaika); won't dance "tamure" d doesn't dance very well, but is not ashamed/shy. a dances/jokes with boy who may be too-close kin
EARLY ADOLESCENCE	5	which secondary school girls will be involved in dance group when they return to the valley? e replaces f in front row of group because f was too shy (hakaika) g is not included in group; not thin enough h is not included in group due to slight deformity i's father is too overprotective, won't let her dance in group; took her away from dancing one night
MIDDLE ADOLESCENCE	6	girls should wear nicer clothes to practices j's father is too overprotective; comes to dance practices to keep an eye on her k should not be in dance-group at all, since she's pregnant and it's beginning to show l used to be in group, but married old man; when made slight move towards dancing was called "Madam" by others; dance group is not very good!
LATE ADOLESCENCE	7	m broke up with is fiancee; is now staying with another girl

		n is very drunk for whole week; at end of week, sneaks into girl's house with intent to sleep with her; is fined by family
NEWLY SETTLED COUPLES	9	o is mad at her husband for dancing; she refuses to dance because she has a small child and is pregnant p is mad at her husband because he won't dance; dances with 3-yr-old son in arms
YOUNG-MIDDLE SETTLED COUPLES	10	q and r have marital fight over household matters. long standing tensions and fact that r went off to drink, leaving q to tend the booth; they split up for a while, then both leave wife's household and establish new one. s spends all the money earned and more one drinking; leaves wife to tend booth; beats her afterwards. t sneaks into woman's house with sexual intent; is fined; has argument with wife's brother. s and his wife's newborn baby dies shortly after the festival; they fight s beats up wife; people consider them irresponsible for letting the baby die.
SETTLED COUPLES	11	u serves goods for which he has no license; lets his meat spoil; committee member corrects him v,w,x want their booths outside of designated area v wanted pig that p sold to u y lowers liquor prices against rules; z lowers chips prices, is complained about